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ABSTRACT

It was the evangelical Christian publicists in the tract and Bible societies who first dreamed of genuinely mass media--that is, they proposed to deliver the same printed message to everyone in America. To this end, organizations such as the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society helped to develop, in the very earliest stages, the modern printing and distribution techniques associated with the reading revolution in the nineteenth century. Their successes were not as extravagant as their dreams, but by 1830--long before the success of the penny press, or the dime novel, or the cheap magazine--in some sections of the country, they had nearly achieved their goal of delivering their message to everyone. It was the will to print, not the way to print, that first led American evangelicals into the business of mass media. Eventually this will drove the organizers of the Bible and tract societies to adopt better ways to reach the best end. One step was to seek and to promote new printing technology that would be more efficient for mass publication: stereotyping, stem-powered printing, and machine papermaking. Another step was to put aside denominational differences to build a genuine national organization for systematic distribution. A third step was to raise money. For both the American Tract Society and the American Bible Society, the period 1829-1831 was the time of realization that the creation of mass media was possible in America. Many secular associations would eventually adopt the printing, distribution, and organizational methods of these two societies. One of the first was the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose experience with mass media in the 1830s suggests that the pioneering work of the Bible and tract societies had far reaching implications. (HOD)

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DAVID PAUL NORD

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Janice Hillman has joined *Monographs* as Art Director, effective with this number. Her work appeared first in Number 87. Janice designed the cover and redesigned the inside of that issue. Janice also is serving as Art Director of *Journal of Broadcasting*, so she is getting a good deal of experience in working with mass communication topics. If you have any suggestions for improvement in the appearance of *Journalism Monographs*, please let me know. I will pass your comments on to Janice.

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DAVID PAUL NORD

The Evangelical Origins Of Mass Media In America, 1815-1835

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Accepted for Publication March 1984

DAVID PAUL NORD is an Assistant Professor in the School of Journalism at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. He would like to thank the Office of Research and Graduate Development and the Center for New Communications, both of Indiana University, for their financial support of this research project. He would also like to thank Mrs. Janice E. Pearson, former archivist of the American Bible Society, who was especially gracious and helpful.

IN THE EARLY SPRING of 1815, the Rev. William Dickey of Salem, Kentucky, made his way down to the little wharf at the confluence of the Ohio and Cumberland rivers to pick up a package that had arrived for him by riverboat. The package was a bundle of religious tracts sent by the Rev. Samuel Mills, who was then touring the West as an agent of the Massachusetts Missionary Society. They were the first religious tracts Dickey had ever seen. "I read them eagerly," he wrote to Mills, "and was glad to have it in my power, to give away a present, so suitable, and so acceptable, to many a destitute family. I directed those who received them, to read them over and over, and then hand them to their neighbours. Be assured, Sir, they have excited considerable interest among all classes. Religious Tracts have been much desired by us, ever since we heard of Societies of this kind. That so many numbers, and 6,000 of each, should be printed for gratuitous distribution, astonishes our people. They say, *It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes.*"[1]

The Rev. Dickey's parishioners were understandably astonished, for what they were witnessing, even there in the wilderness of western Kentucky, were the first stirrings of something new in America: mass media. It wasn't really the Lord's doing, however; in this case it was the very human work of the New England Tract Society. The New England group was one of dozens of tract and Bible societies that had sprouted up in the decade between 1805 and 1815. These groups gradually coalesced into two large national organizations: the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Tract Society (1825). The work of the Bible and tract

societies of the early republic did not bring about the millennium of Christ as their founders had hoped. The importance of these societies in American history may lie elsewhere, for they helped to lay the foundation for mass media in America through their pioneering work in mass printing and mass distribution of the written word.

The Popularization of Print

Historians have long been interested in the revolution in popular reading habits in the United States during the first half of the 19th century. Students of the book trade have pointed to the rise of the popular American novel, especially the works of James Fenimore Cooper after 1821, as a kind of takeoff stage in the popularization of print.[2] Historians of journalism have seen a similar critical threshold for the newspaper industry in the development of the popular "penny press" after 1833.[3] Scholars have long debated the sources of this transformation, and a rather long list of "causes" has been assembled. Most of these can be classified as technological (improved printing, papermaking, and transportation), economic (improved business organization, growth of consumer manufactures and advertising, and population movements), or political (democratization of government and growth of public schooling).

In this essay I propose to add the classification "evangelical." Perhaps more than anything else, the missionary impulse — first in purely religious crusades and then in more secular reform movements — lay at the foundation of the popularization of print in the 19th century. Though the growth of popular fiction and newspaper journalism in the early 19th century certainly had a profound and lasting impact on the popularization of print, it seems that it was the evangelical Christian publicists in the Bible and tract societies who first dreamed the dream of a genuinely mass medium — that is, they proposed to deliver the same printed message to *everyone* in America. To this end, these organizations helped to develop, in the very earliest stages, the modern printing and distribution techniques associated with the reading revolution in the 19th century. Of course the successes of the Bible and tract societies were not as extravagant as their dreams. But the results of their efforts were remarkable nonetheless. By 1830 in some sections of the country — long before the success of the penny press or the dime novel or the cheap magazine — they had nearly achieved their goal of delivering their message to everyone.

The Missionary Impulse

It was the will to print, not the way to print, that first led American evangelicals into the business of mass media. By the 1820s the Bible and

tract societies would emerge as leaders in both printing technology and the organization of national distribution networks. But such was not the case at the beginning, in the first decade of the 19th century. The first efforts at organized evangelism through print in America were based upon long standard printing technology and traditional styles of local organization. It was the intensity of the missionary impulse that was new.

For many pious Christians, especially those with Federalist and pro-British political leanings, the turn of the 18th century was a time of grim foreboding. For them, the French Revolution had displayed vividly the excesses of both democracy and religious infidelity. Now, with the election of 1800, Jefferson, the arch democrat and infidel himself, was in power; and the political fortunes of the traditional Standing Order were bleak. It was a double burden for the conservative Christian Federalist. Not only was orthodox religion apparently under assault, but American government, both national and local, seemed increasingly disinclined to intervene on the side of traditional civil and ecclesiastical authority. With political power slipping from their grasp, many prominent Federalists and evangelical Christians turned to private voluntary associations and corporations to conduct the work of religious and moral regeneration.[4]

One such displaced Federalist was Elias Boudinot, friend of Washington, former president of the Continental Congress, leader of the Hamilton forces in the House of Representatives in the 1750s, and prominent Presbyterian layman. In 1801, out of power and seemingly out of step with the times, the 60-year-old founding father published his first book, *The Age of Revelation*, a fundamentalist denunciation of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* and the whole spirit of the French Enlightenment. In the preface of the book, Boudinot wrote how shocked and dismayed he had been to learn "that thousands of copies of the *Age of Reason* had been sold at public auction, in this city (Philadelphia), at a cent and a half each, whereby children, servants, and the lowest people, had been tempted to purchase, for the novelty of buying a book at so low a rate; my attention was excited to find out what fund could afford so heavy an expense, for so unworthy an object."[5] Boudinot resolved to dedicate much of his remaining life and fortune to building a counter-fund and counter-organization for what he considered a more worthy object. His labors led to the formation of the New Jersey Bible Society in 1809 and the American Bible Society in 1816.[6]

The Rev. Jedidiah Morse of Massachusetts was another orthodox Christian Federalist who shared Boudinot's fears of the rising tide of democracy and irreligion. Bred in the traditional doctrines of New England Congregationalism, Morse believed that government should be conducted by men of wisdom and virtue, its object to enforce morality and right religion. With the traditional institutions of social order — church and state — now falling into the hands of Unitarians and

Republicans, Morse urged the orthodox of New England to regroup and to organize private associations to carry on the work of Christ's church on earth. For his part, Morse helped to organize the Massachusetts Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge in 1803 and, in 1814, the New England Tract Society, a precursor to the American Tract Society of 1825. "Too long have good men stood still, in criminal supineness, or silent despondence," Morse wrote, "while a flood of licentiousness has been sweeping away the institutions of Christianity, and the landmarks of our fathers."[7]

Boudinot and Morse were prominent founders of what grew to be the national Bible and tract societies, but their beliefs and their notions of how those beliefs should be put into practice were typical of many religious men in the early 19th century.[8] Despite their denominational differences, they were quite similar in their fundamental religious, social, and political values. They were staunch conservatives, believers in tradition, deference, and hierarchy. In a sense they were 17th-century men, mis-born into the 18th century, trying to come to terms with the 19th. On the one hand, they looked to the past. They rejected the secular rationalism of the 18th-century enlightenment while longing for the ordered religious communitarianism of early America. They feared the rise of republicanism and liberal Christianity while mourning the decline of Federalism and Calvinism. On the other hand, they looked to the future. They embraced the Hamiltonian program of new industrialism and economic development and the very modern world of large-scale private organization.

Very quickly the dual commitment of such men to traditional values yet modern means would produce what might be called the industrialization of evangelism in America. At first, however, despite the will to evangelize, the available organizational and technological means were as old-fashioned as the religious ends.

Denominationalism was one force that slowed the growth of organized evangelism, but an even more salient characteristic of these first Bible and tract societies in the United States was localism. The first important American tract society was founded in New Haven in 1807; the first Bible society at Philadelphia in 1808. Within six years more than 100 Bible societies and dozens of tract societies were organized. The Philadelphia society was the largest, as well as the first, of the Bible societies. Its founders had contemplated building a national organization but decided such an effort would simply be impossible at that time. Instead, they and the other local societies went their own ways, with little communication or coordination among them.[9]

The denominationalism and especially the localism of the local Bible and tract societies was a great annoyance to missionaries such as Samuel Mills. When Mills was preparing for his missionary tour of the West in

1814-15, he found that he had to solicit aid from a dozen or more local societies to collect enough Bibles and tracts to make the trip worthwhile. In his final report he complained that the local societies could not even meet the needs of their areas, much less the rapidly growing needs of the West. "It is a foul blot on our national character," he wrote. "Christian America must arise and wipe it away.—The existing Societies are not able to do it. They want union;—they want co-operation;—they want resources. If a National Institution cannot be formed, application ought to be made to the British and Foreign Bible Society for aid."[10]

It is not surprising that Mills should talk of British aid, for the British connection was the one major organizational link that transcended the localism of the American societies. Neither the legacy of the Revolutionary War nor the War of 1812, even while in progress, dimmed the enthusiasm of these Federalist evangelicals for the mother country. In fact, all of the American societies were to some extent dependent offspring of the great British societies. The Religious Tract Society, founded in London in 1799, was the source of nearly all of the tracts that were reprinted and circulated by the early tract societies in America. The British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804, provided direct assistance to most of the new American Bible societies in the form of cash contributions or donations of Bibles and New Testaments.[11] One of the first acts of the organizers of a new American society was usually to seek aid from abroad. As in colonial times, trans-Atlantic links could be stronger than links among the scattered communities of America, in spite of the widely shared and growing enthusiasm throughout America for the missionary cause.

In addition to providing material assistance, the British societies inspired the Americans with their vision of what religious mass media should be. Their plan was to achieve unity and to avoid denominational conflict by seeking the common denominator. The British and Foreign Bible Society agreed to publish the standard version of the Protestant Bible only "without note or comment."[12] The tracts printed by the Religious Tract Society in London and reprinted in America were usually brief homilies on the most widely acceptable of conservative Christian doctrines, or were simple narratives of conversion experiences. They were inexpensive pamphlets, about six inches by three and three-quarter inches in size, usually about four to 12 pages in length, and perhaps adorned with a simple woodcut on the cover. One of the most popular tracts on either side of the Atlantic in the early 19th century, for example, was "The Swearer's Prayer," a little homespun story of a man who came to realize that when he carelessly used God's name in vain he was actually calling for his own damnation.[13] According to the British plan, which the Americans adopted almost verbatim, a good tract should be "pure truth,"

"plain," "striking," "entertaining," and "full of ideas." Simplicity was the key: nothing complex, nothing controversial.[14]

With the British model for inspiration, the problem for the local American societies was never lack of vision; the problem was lack of money and lack of capacity for mass printing and mass distribution. The history of the first 10 years of the New England Tract Society, before its merger into the new American Tract Society in 1825, offers a case in point. The society was organized in 1814 by Jedidiah Morse and several other conservative Congregationalists, mainly associated with the Andover Theological Seminary. Their aim was expansive from the beginning: to build an organization, modeled after the Religious Tract Society of England, that would serve as a national coordinator and publisher for local societies throughout the United States.[15] To help organize this wider work, the society encouraged the formation of auxiliary societies and regional tract depositories, hired a traveling agent in 1819, and began publishing a magazine in 1824 to communicate with the branch societies.[16]

By 1821 the directors of the society had conceived of a grand plan for at least 100 well-stocked tract depositories, each serving 20 local societies, and altogether circulating six million tracts per year. Even such a mammoth effort as this, the directors declared, would be only a first step toward the ultimate goal of supplying every family in the country with a complete set of tracts.[17]

In fact, the New England Tract Society never came close to this goal. With its roots in rural Andover, the society developed few ties to the publishing and business worlds of Boston, much less to those of other major cities. The society contracted with a number of printers to do its work. It had no central printing location. In 1816 the society published 378,000 tracts, and over the next eight years the annual output was rarely more than 400,000. Each new tract was usually issued in an edition of 6,000 and then reprinted from time to time as demand warranted. In the years before 1824, the society's annual expenditures for paper and printing only once exceeded $5,000 — not a large printing business even in that era. Even so, the society ran a debt every year between 1814 and 1824 except one, and in the same period received only about $8,500 in outright donations.[18]

The Bible societies were equally determined to spread the word to every village, yet they found it equally difficult to do so. Many of the larger American printers produced Bibles and New Testaments, but these were almost invariably in editions too small or too expensive to meet the demands perceived by Bible society organizers. Samuel Mills found in 1814 that even the oldest and wealthiest of the groups, the Philadelphia Bible Society, could make only a small donation of volumes for his missionary trip to the West.[19]

Eventually the will to print drove the organizers of the Bible and tract societies to adopt better ways to reach the best end. In both Bible and tract work, the process was similar. One step was to seek and to promote new printing technology that would be more efficient for mass publication. In the 1810s and 1820s, this meant stereotyping, steam-powered printing, and machine papermaking. The Bible and tract societies were pioneer developers of all three. Another step was to put aside denominational differences and to build a genuine national organization for systematic distribution. A third step was to raise money. All three of these steps, it seems, carried the evangelical publicists inexorably to one place: New York.

"The Full Power of the Press"

New York in the 1810s and 1820s was engaged in a great commercial rivalry with Philadelphia and Boston, and it was winning. By 1821 some 23 percent of the nation's imports came through New York. By 1831 the proportion was 50 percent, and there was no longer any doubt that New York was to be the great commercial metropolis of the New World. In the single year of 1825, the year the Erie Canal opened, 500 new mercantile businesses opened their doors in the city.[20]

One New York firm that opened its doors that year was the newly organized American Tract Society. The founders of the Tract Society chose New York for the same reasons that other businesses did. New York was the leader in technology, transportation, and money. These were the worldly ingredients needed to turn God's divine will and man's pious plans into reality. As the new secretary of the society remarked, a publishing house in New York could print and distribute tracts "at so cheap a rate and in such quantities as to meet the demands of the nation . . . . The concentration of tract work in New York was what God designed."[21]

The first reason for locating in New York was technological. New York City after 1810 was the incubator of several new innovations in printing that would prove highly useful for Bible and tract publishing. The most important of these was stereotyping.

In stereotype printing, a facsimile of a page of type is produced by making a mold from a page composed of moveable type and then casting a solid metal "plate" in that mold. The stereotype plate can then be used in a printing press, in place of a page of moveable type. Stereotyping was especially valuable for mass printing, mainly because the printer did not have to keep his capital locked up in standing type during a long press run. Once a plate of a page is cast, the moveable types can be redistributed and immediately used again. With a complete set of plates for a work, the printer has the flexibility to produce as many copies and

as many editions, as frequently or infrequently, as he likes, without the expense of either keeping type standing or resetting it. Because producing the plates is itself a considerable investment of capital and labor, however, the savings of stereotyping grow large only on big jobs. Thus not surprisingly, the first works stereotyped were standard, steady sellers — such as Bibles.[22]

The general idea of stereotyping was already old at the beginning of the 19th century, but the process did not become practical or economical until after 1802, when Lord Stanhope, the inventor of the Stanhope printing press, perfected the plaster-of-paris molding technique in England.[23] By 1808 both Cambridge and Oxford university presses were printing with stereotype plates, and one of their best customers was the British and Foreign Bible Society.[24] The "secret" of stereotyping was brought to America in 1811 or 1812 by three or four type founders who had learned the process from Stanhope or his associates in England. The first book stereotyped in America was a catechism produced by John Watts in 1813. About the same time, one or two others, notably David and George Bruce, began work in stereotype founding. Significantly, all of the early pioneers of stereotyping in America worked in New York City.[25]

As in England, the first big customers of the stereotypers were the Bible societies. The Philadelphia Bible Society published a Bible in 1812 with plates imported from England, which were paid for largely by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This was probably the first stereotyped book printed in the United States. In 1816 the New York Bible Society began to publish its own Bibles from plates cast by Elihu White in New York. Stereotyping required a sizable initial investment, and the local New York society could not act alone. It needed the support, in the form of capital and the promise of future orders, of other local societies around the country.[26] Not surprisingly the New York society in 1815 became one of the first of the major local societies to join with Elias Boudinot's New Jersey group in efforts to form a national association.[27] It was no mere coincidence that the adoption of stereotype printing and the movement toward a national organization based in New York occurred at the same time.

After the American Bible Society was founded in May of 1816, the Board of Managers of the new society determined that their "first exertions ought to be directed toward the procurement of well-executed stereotype plates."[28] Almost immediately the three stereotypers then operating in New York began to compete for the business of the American Bible Society. In August the board required sealed bids from all three and awarded its first contract for three sets of plates to D. & G. Bruce for $4,000. Meanwhile, the New York Bible Society voted to turn over its plates to the new national society.[29] By the end of its first year, the American Bible Society had printed about 10,000 Bibles and was on

its way to acquiring the capability of large-scale production. By the end of its third year, the society owned eight sets of plates for the whole Bible and two for the New Testament and was printing more than 70,000 volumes annually on eight hand presses in constant use. The acquisition of stereotype plates would remain a major item in Bible Society budgets, and the society would remain a major supporter of the handful of firms that dominated the stereotype founding business in New York.[30] By moving quickly into the new technology of stereotypography, the American Bible Society was able to become a leading American book publisher by 1820, with a much smaller investment than a traditional moveable type printing firm.

The tract societies were somewhat slower than the Bible societies to move into stereotype printing, doubtless because the process would not have been as quickly valuable for small tracts as for Bibles. But with the constant demand for new editions of the same tracts, the tract societies also began to think about economies of scale in printing. And in 1823 the New England Tract Society began the costly process of stereotyping its tracts. The directors felt that this was a crucial part of their plan to build a genuinely national publishing operation.[31] In that same year the New England society even changed its name to the American Tract Society to proclaim its national commitment. But the capital investment for stereotype plates was considerable, and the society's expenditures shot up 131 percent in 1823-24, while its tract production increased by only 64 percent. The society's debt continued to mount as well.[32]

By early 1825, despite the misgivings of some of the conservative New England leadership, the American Tract Society was ready to merge with other major local societies and to move its publishing operations to New York. In announcing the new, consolidated American Tract Society, formed in 1825 and based in New York, the founders declared that the centralization of stereotype printing was "a powerful argument in favor of union." "Tracts are now exceedingly cheap," they said, "but the Committee are greatly deceived if the formation of the American Tract Society does not render them cheaper than they are now."[33]

With the organization of the American Tract Society in New York, stereotyping became a major effort. Not only did the Boston and New York local societies turn over their plates to the national organization, but the new group also contracted for its own stereotyping, so that by the end of its first year the society had stereotyped 155 tracts (some 2,000 pages).[34] In planning for a new headquarters building, the American Tract Society executive committee provided for the society's own stereotype foundry in the basement. With this kind of enthusiasm for the new technology of printing, it is little wonder that the executive committee spoke in its first annual report of the Christian obligation to use the

"mighty engine" of print just as God himself had used the written word to reveal himself to man.[35]

Stereotyping was probably the most important, but not the only, technological innovation in printing that the Bible and tract societies helped to bring into practical service in America. The societies were also two of the first publishing houses in America to install steam-powered presses. Of course power presses are not absolutely necessary for mass printing; *many* hand presses will also do the job. And the Bible Society had at least 20 hand presses at work constantly by the mid-1820s. But the faster a single press can work, the more efficiently it can employ labor and the capital tied up in stereotype plates. Cheaper labor could also be hired to operate power presses (girls instead of men and boys, for example), a kind of efficiency not always greeted with sanguinity by the skilled artisans of the printing trade. For the owners of capital, efficiency is efficiency; and from the beginning, the managers of both societies actively encouraged innovations and improvements in the printing press itself.[36]

Both societies were early adopters of Daniel Treadwell's steam-powered bed-and-platen press, the first generally successful powered printing press to be built in America. Treadwell, a Bostonian, had studied steam-powered printing in England during a visit in 1820. The most famous English power press at that time was the cylinder press developed by Friedrich Koenig and first put into service on *The Times* of London in 1814. The Koenig press was extremely fast, but it also was expensive to install, was hard on type, and was not suited to fine-quality work. In America, where newspapers were highly localized and individual newspaper circulations were small, it was the book publishers who pioneered in power printing. And for them, in the 1820s, the cylinder press was unsuitable. What Treadwell did was to design and build in 1822 a press that stood, technologically, between the traditional hand press and the new cylinder steam press. In Treadwell's design, much of the work was still done by hand, and the pressure was applied downward by a platen. But there was no bar to pull. The platen was moved by steam, water, or horsepower; and the speed of the work was much faster than on a hand press. The Treadwell press, later much improved by Isaac and Seth Adams and others, remained the standard machine in much of the publishing industry for more than 50 years.[37]

The managers of the American Bible Society learned of Treadwell's experiments as early as 1822 or 1823 and were immediately interested. They contacted him in 1823 and began negotiations that would eventually lead to the installation of 16 Treadwell presses by 1829. All of these presses, incidentally, probably were built by Robert Hoe of New York under a franchise arrangement with Treadwell.[38] The firm R. Hoe & Company, then in its infancy, grew to be the leading manufacturer of printing presses in 19th-century America. The American Tract Society,

almost immediately after its founding in 1825, began to move to steam-powered printing, installing its first Treadwell press in 1826, the first in New York. Nine more were soon added to the Tract Society's printing plant.[39]

At both the Tract Society and the Bible Society, the introduction of mechanical power was managed by Daniel Fanshaw, who was chief printer for each of the two societies at different times in the 1820s. Fanshaw was the leading entrepreneur of the steam-powered bed-and-platen press in New York City. He held exclusive rights to use the Treadwell press in New York, and he was an avid enthusiast of power printing. In the late 1820s he repeatedly sought loans and mortgaged his property to finance more steam presses, and he was constantly nagging manufacturers such as R. Hoe for faster delivery. Fanshaw was also an expert in the use of stereotype plates, having worked for D. & G. Bruce before signing on with the Bible Society about 1817. Fanshaw seems to have been more of a developer than an inventor, though he is sometimes listed as a claimant to the title of the first steam-powered printer in America. Except for some experimental work by Jonas Booth in the early 1820s, Fanshaw's rows of Treadwell presses at the American Tract Society were the first of a very long line of power presses in the publishing houses of the city of New York.[40]

In addition to its early promotion of stereotyping and power printing, the Bible Society was also a pioneer supporter of machine papermaking in the United States. Before 1800 papermaking was a slow, costly handicraft. A skilled workman made each sheet of paper separately on a screen frame dipped by hand through a vat of water and macerated cloth fibers. The first successful papermaking machine was developed by Nicholas-Louis Robert in France in the late 1790s. Robert's machine, which was later taken over by the Fourdrinier brothers of London, used an "endless wire cloth" (screen belt), in place of the hand-held frame, to produce an endless web of paper, without the need of skilled workmen. It did the work, as Robert said in his patent application, at "infinite less expense."[41] Though Robert exaggerated the cost savings of his machine somewhat, his process, under the name Fourdrinier, did revolutionize the papermaking process, allowing for enormously increased production while gradually cutting the price of paper by about 60 percent over the first half of the 19th century.[42]

The first papermaking machine in America, somewhat different from a Fourdrinier, was developed by Thomas Gilpin of Delaware and put into service in 1817. Gilpin's product immediately sparked the interest of newspaper and book publishers, and the first American book to be printed on American machine-made paper appeared in 1820, published by Mathew Carey of Philadelphia. In the late 1820s several Fourdrinier machines (the style of machine that proved most successful) were im-

ported from England and France. Then in 1829 George Spafford and James Phelps began to build their own improved Fourdrinier machines in South Windham, Connecticut. The buyer of the first Fourdrinier papermaking machine to be built in America was Amos H. Hubbard, who had been operating a handmade paper mill at Norwich, Connecticut.[43] Hubbard was a chief paper supplier to the American Bible Society.

In its earliest years the Bible Society preferred paper imported from France and southern Europe and tried aggressively to have Congress exempt its imports from the 30 percent duty imposed by the tariff of 1816.[44] The society also tirelessly shopped around among domestic papermakers in the 1810s and early 1820s. By the end of the 1820s, the society had developed major contracts with three or four manufacturers, including, most prominently, Amos Hubbard.[45] Hubbard not only supplied paper to the Bible Society, but also enthusiastically supported its work. He was an active member of the very active Norwich auxiliary, and in August of 1829 — just three months after the installation of his new Fourdrinier machine — he became a Life Member of the national society, making his donation in reams of paper rather than money.[46]

The Bible Society was almost certainly Hubbard's chief customer, perhaps his only customer, in the first few years after he automated his mill. He worked closely with Daniel Fanshaw, the society's printer, to rapidly expand Bible production in 1829 and 1830. Fanshaw had a few complaints from time to time, but in general the Bible Society was pleased with the quality and the price of Hubbard's machine-made paper. Hubbard by 1830 was a true believer in the process. "I find that the Papermakers generally do not feel very cordial towards me because I sell paper so cheap," he wrote. "One man remarked that it would oblige him to stop his Mill."[47]

By the late 1820s the managers of both the Bible and the Tract societies felt that they had developed the technical expertise — in stereotyping, printing, and paper manufacturing — to make the whole nation their audience. In 1827, the year after they had moved to steam printing, the officers of the Tract Society announced confidently that they could place at least one tract into the hands of every American in a single year. "Twelve millions of inhabitants are indeed a great many; but twelve millions of tracts can be printed and printed in one year, with no essential sacrifice to the community . . . this *can be done*." Modern religious tract work, they said, "brings the art of stereotyping, and the full power of the press, of which every body has spoken, but the extent of which perhaps no one has ever duly estimated, to bear, in all the perfection of their energy, upon the moral welfare of our country."[48]

The leaders of the Bible Society were equally confident. In 1829 society secretary James Milnor declared that the printing plant had the capacity to produce a Bible for every family in the land — between 500,000 and

600,000 annually. "It is apparent," he told the annual meeting in May of 1829, "that there can be printed and bound, and issued from this Depository, during the ensuing two years, and for every succeeding period, all the Bibles and Testaments that public exigency in its most extended requisition can call for at our hands."[49]

"Systematic Organization"

The capacity of the print shop, however, was not the sole measure of success for mass media; this the leaders of both societies well understood. The nation must be systematically organized, and large sums of money must be raised. To this end, the societies' founders resolved to set aside denominational and doctrinal differences and to build unified, centralized national organizations.

Both societies were built upon the hope that the missionary impulse would prove stronger than denominationalism. And to some extent this turned out to be true, though both societies, especially the Tract Society, were supported mainly by the traditionally conservative church bodies. Following the British example, unity was achieved by seeking the lowest common denominator. For the Bible Society, this meant that the Bible would be published "without note or comment." The founders could agree on little else beyond the centrality of the Bible; but for the society's purpose, this was enough.[50] Similarly the Tract Society resolved to publish only those tracts that would not offend any of the participating denominations. "The different denominations composing the Publishing Committee, come to their work with the solemn and honest stipulation to be each the protector of his own peculiarities," declared the Executive Committee in 1825; "and in this labour of mercy to publish and distribute such Tracts only, as shall inculcate those great doctrines in which they all harmonize."[51] For the American Tract Society, broad agreement on "a few great facts" was always a prime organizational consideration.[52]

The next step beyond interdenominational cooperation was the building of a genuine national organization. To this end both societies organized elaborate systems of local auxiliary societies and branch distributors. In the same report in which it proclaimed its ability to print 12 million tracts a year, the Tract Society entreated its members: "Let the Society itself be roused to proper effort; let Branches and Auxiliaries be formed in our large cities and towns, in the capital of every State, and the chief town of every County, and Auxiliaries be formed in every parish and neighborhood, throughout the land." The Rev. Milnor, an officer of both societies, put the matter succinctly: "The machinery of a mill may be mechanically perfect in all its parts, but not a wheel will move without the impetus of water. And so those stereotype plates, giving so much facility to the art of printing, and those power-presses, multiplying with such

unexampled rapidity impressions of the sacred pages, to produce their expected results, must be put in motion, and to put them in motion, pecuniary means must be supplied, and for these means, the occupants of these plates and presses must be dependent on their Auxiliaries."[53]

Both societies labored throughout the 1820s to establish national networks of branches and auxiliaries for raising funds and for distributing their products. The Bible Society increased its network of local auxiliaries from 207 in 1820 to 645 by 1829. The Tract Society had formally recognized 713 branches and auxiliaries by 1829.[54] Many of the newer societies were located in the West and in the new South, where the evangelicals felt the need for religious missionary work was most pressing.

Though the auxiliaries of both societies were increasingly far-flung, the centers of operations remained in New York; and each society in the 1820s gradually centralized and systematized the power of the New York organization.

New York was chosen, not only because of its growing leadership in printing technology, but also because of its growing dominance as the nation's communications center in the new age of canals, steamboats, and ocean packets. "If the signs of the times call for a National Institution," the organizers of the American Tract Society declared, "where might we look for the seat of its operations, unless where there are greater facilities of ingress and egress, and more extended, constant, and direct intercommunications with foreign ports, and every part of our interior, than are to be found in any other locality in the nation? . . . Merchants assemble here, and opportunities are constantly presented for sending Tracts at a very small expense, and very frequently at no expense at all, to the remotest parts of the land, and of engaging the proper persons to use their influence in distributing them . . . . The City of New-York, eminently distinguished by its natural and local advantages, its accummulating population, and its increasing commercial prosperity and influence, seems destined, in the wisdom of Divine Providence, to become the centre of these extended operations."[55]

The Bible Society had already found the same opportunities in New York: "The constant intercourse maintained between a great metropolis, like New-York, with other ports, and with the interior of the country in every direction, supplies opportunities, at every season of the year, of conveying Bibles, with cheapness, security, and expedition, to the most distant places. And when to these propitious circumstances is added the comparative difference of expense in conducting an establishment on a large and on a contracted scale, in the purchase of materials, the cost of labor, and the superior execution of the work, the Managers feel warranted in the belief, that Bibles, issued from the general Depository of this Society, can be afforded at a much lower rate, in proportion to their quality, than from any other source."[56]

The watchword was "systematic organization," a phrase that appears frequently in both societies' literature. The centralization of all printing was the obvious first step. In its earliest years the Bible Society experimented with branch printing, lending a set of stereotype plates in 1816 to the Kentucky Bible Society at Lexington. But the managers soon abandoned this experiment and decided by 1823 that the best and cheapest work could be done only at the society's own house in New York.[57] By 1825, when the Tract Society was founded, it was already clear that centralized printing was preferable. The next step for both societies was to transform what tended to be scattered, autonomous local societies into auxiliaries subsidiary to a centralized, national organization.

To some extent this transformation had to depend upon voluntary cooperation and persuasion. To build a cooperative, unified system of auxiliaries, both societies organized formal communication networks. The Tract Society continued the *American Tract Magazine*, begun by the New England Society in 1824, which was filled with correspondence from the various branches as well as suggestions and guidelines from the national office. The Bible Society published a similar newsletter for auxiliaries called *Monthly Extracts*. Each issue carried the admonition: "It is recommended that these Extracts be read at the meetings of the Board of Directors of each Auxiliary and Branch Bible Society and Bible Association." The national offices also required regular reports from local societies, specified in detail how local societies should be organized and operated, and chastised those that didn't live up to their obligations.[58] Both national societies recognized that the auxiliaries were the key to systematic distribution, although the lingering localism of American institutions sometimes frustrated their drive toward centralized authority.[59]

Though largely dependent upon voluntary cooperation, each national office had some direct power to enforce its will. The structures of the organizations, for example, vested administrative authority in the hands of small executive boards, which tended to be dominated year after year by the same small cliques of New Yorkers and New Englanders. The Constitution of the American Bible Society even specified that 24 of the 36 managers must reside in New York City or its vicinity. The constitutions of both societies also provided that auxiliaries must support the national organization financially in order to receive Bibles and tracts at discounted rates.[60] Though some of the stricter constitutional provisions were eventually relaxed, the national offices usually were able to use their centralized administrative power and control over the source of the product to turn the local societies to their point of view.

Another centralizing organizational technique was the employment of traveling agents hired directly by the national office. Bible and Tract

society agents were a kind of cross between religious missionaries and traveling booksellers. They were hired, directed, and usually supported by the national office. The Bible Society's first agent, Richard D. Hall, began work in 1822, and in his first year's service he traveled 3,000 miles — preaching, chatting, exhorting, and organizing some 35 new auxiliaries. Hall's calling depended upon the improvements in transportation that were beginning to appear in America in that era, but he found that in 1822 the transportation revolution had not worked its wonders everywhere. He wrote from Wheeling, in the Ohio River valley: "I arrived at this place last Monday, and in consequence of so much unfavorable weather, and great fatigue in traveling, and intolerable roads, I am nearly outdone." The society, however, was very pleased with Hall's itinerancy; by 1828 the American Bible Society had 12 agents in the field.[61]

The Tract Society also employed a dozen or more agents in the 1820s, especially in the sparsely populated regions of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Later the American Tract Society became famous for its extensive use of traveling missionary/salesmen — the so-called "colporteurs" of the mid-to-late 19th century.[62]

"The Benevolent Empire"

All of these innovations — technical and organizational — cost money, and money was a third reason for locating in New York. Of course the bulk of receipts for both societies came in the form of payment for books and tracts. Both societies were always scrambling as well for outright donations. New York City may have been somewhat less pious than a place like Boston, but those New Yorkers who were pious tended to have more money. Many, in fact, were themselves New Englanders by birth and faith, though nascent New Yorkers by business.[63] And at least some of these evangelical New York businessmen were in a position by the 1820s to endow Christian benevolence with financial clout. The American Bible Society, for example, was able easily and quickly to raise $22,500 in the early 1820s for a new building. Similarly the Tract Society was drawn to New York in part because a handful of New York philanthropists pledged $25,000 to put up a building and get the new organization started.[64] In the 1820s it seemed that New York was a place where men could afford to be benevolent.

Probably the most benevolent of all was Arthur Tappan, a native of Northampton, Massachusetts, who made a fortune in New York in the import trade. Tappan supported dozens of philanthropic and reform causes, ranging from pure missionary crusades to radical antislavery. From the beginning, one of his major interests was the work of the American Tract Society. He was one of four New Yorkers who underwrote the society's founding, and he financed the purchase of the society's

first Treadwell steam presses in 1826. In all he gave at least $20,000. He also served on the finance committee and, when needed, delivered tracts door to door. Tappan also gave the American Bible Society at least $5,000 in the late 1820s.[65] Arthur Tappan was perhaps unique in the breadth and depth of his munificence. Yet Tappan was part of a wealthy and growing subculture in New York that seemed to bring together, for a time at least, traditional piety and modern finance — to help produce what has come to be known as "the benevolent empire" of the 1820s and 1830s.[66]

For both the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society, the 1820s were years of millennial optimism. Indeed, real progress was made toward the goal of establishing genuine mass religious media in America. The Bible Society began the decade printing about 60,000 Bibles and New Testaments annually. In 1828 the society printers turned out 100,000 for the first time, and then more than 300,000 annually over the next two years. The society also was able to improve the quality of its work while at the same time to reduce the price of the least expensive volumes. In 1820 the cheapest Bible sold for 60 cents, the cheapest New Testament for 22 cents. In 1828 the society began to issue a cloth-bound New Testament for 12 cents and reduced the cheapest Bible to 50 cents.[67]

The Tract Society printed nearly 700,000 tracts in the first year after its founding in 1825 — slightly more than eight million pages. In 1829 the society produced more than six million tracts — 61 million pages — as well as more than 100,000 *Christian Almanacks,* books, and other publications. The nominal price for tracts remained 1 cent per 10 pages throughout the decade, but the society gradually improved the quality of the product by adding illustrations and free covers.[68] These prices do not necessarily reflect the actual cost to the final consumer, of course. In the case of both Bibles and tracts, large numbers were purchased at cost by auxiliary societies and then simply given away to the public free of charge.

This kind of production placed both societies, particularly the Bible Society, in the first rank of American publishers by the late 1820s — though not at the very top. The largest and most prosperous publisher of that era, the model for later large houses such as Harpers, was Carey & Lea of Philadelphia. In 1829, an especially good year, Carey & Lea counted receipts of $202,000, twice the Bible Society's receipts of $101,000. But it seems unlikely that Carey produced more volumes than the Bible Society. Carey & Lea still served a traditionally diversified market, with many titles issued in editions of a few hundred copies, often sold by subscription. In the 1820s Carey had only begun to move into what would become a genuinely popular literature. Carey's best-selling author in the 1820s, for example, was James Fenimore Cooper, the most popular American author at the time. Cooper's novels were published in editions ranging from 2,000 to 6,500 copies (the latter for *The Red Rover*

of 1828).[69] Such large editions portended the large-scale popular publication that would come in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. But in the 1820s no publisher could match the enormous editions turned out at the Bible Society's house in New York City. As early as 1827, in fact, the managers of the society reported, matter-of-factly, that "printing of Bibles and Testaments in this country has fallen, in a good measure, into the hands of the American Bible Society."[70]

Indeed, in 1829, with thousands of stereotype plates at hand, with rows of steam-powered presses in place, with endless webs of paper flowing from Hubbard's and others' Fourdrinier machines, and with hundreds of branches and auxiliaries ready and waiting, the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society each felt confident to make a momentous decision: They formally adopted explicit plans to supply *everyone* in the United States with Bibles and tracts.

"General Supply"

At the annual meeting of the American Bible Society in May 1829, the Rev. James Milnor, speaking for the board of managers, proposed a resolution that the society supply a Bible to every family in the United States that needed one, and to do it within two years.[71] The resolution passed easily, for it was the culmination of years of study, debate, and planning within the society. To reach everyone always had been the ultimate goal, of course; but before 1829 some leaders of the society had felt that it would be unwise to bind the society to a specific short-range goal that would be impossible to achieve. Now it appeared that the impossible was possible after all. In the 1820s the technical basis for America's first mass media had been laid. The managers were clearly awed by the unprecedented nature of such a plan: "In the course of events that have marked the age in which we live, few of a more striking character have occurred than the measure adopted at the late anniversary of the American Bible Society."[72]

Success in this first "general supply," as they called it, depended upon systematic surveys and organized distributions at the level of the local auxiliaries. There seemed to be evidence by 1829 that these things could be done. Ten state organizations at that time were already engaged in efforts to canvass and supply "destitute" families in their areas. They had — or at least thought they had — the capability to knock on virtually every door in their state. Several of the larger state societies pledged to the general effort not only cooperation in the distribution of Bibles but financial support as well. The New Hampshire society pledged $12,000; Vermont pledged $10,000; Connecticut $10,000; and so on. Wealthy individuals, including the usual New Yorkers, also offered aid. Arthur Tappan, for example, pledged $5,000 for the "general supply."[73] Though the

auxiliaries sometimes had been an annoyance to the central authorities in New York, now the auxiliaries in all parts of the country appeared to be not only aroused to service but capable of "systematic organization" and "judicious and systematic division of labor."[74]

The "general supply" of every family in the country in two years turned out to be the sort of task the pessimists had feared: impossible. At the end of two years, in 1831, the managers had to admit that, while they had God on their side, nature seemed set against their efforts. Population growth and mobility, especially in the West, made surveys difficult and quickly outdated. An unusually severe winter in 1830-31 throughout the country made distributions at times impossible. Yet the results were striking nonetheless; and the managers were pleased and optimistic that the goal could still be reached. "The greater part of the work is already done," they declared in 1831, "and can soon be brought to a happy and triumphant conclusion." They estimated that the work was "substantially completed" in 13 states and territories, mainly in the East; three-fourths completed in eight states and territories; one-half completed in two; and less than one-half in four, all in the western South.[75] Altogether the society distributed 480,766 Bibles and New Testaments during the two years of the "general supply." Over the three-year period, 1829-1831, the society's presses printed more than a million volumes.[76]

TABLE 1

Printing Production and Unit Production Costs, American Bible Society, 1821-1831

Year (ending in May)	No. volumes printed	No. Bible Equivalents (BE) printed [a]	Paper cost per BE	Printing cost per BE
1821	59,000	38,000	62¢	19.9 ¢
1822	36,625	22,000	42¢	18.9 ¢
1823	52,600	33,000	46¢	15.0 ¢
1824	77,225	47,213	22¢	14.0 ¢
1825	48,500	32,450	47¢	19.5 ¢
1826	81,000	48,275	35¢	16.0 ¢
1827	76,734	51,709	46¢	17.2 ¢
1828	118,250	81,150	34¢	13.5 ¢
1829	344,500	223,340	11¢	11.6
1830	307,250	254,948	24¢	12.2 ¢
1831	270,000	225,200	22¢	10.1 ¢

a "Bible Equivalent" is a standardized unit of measure. It is the production of the Bible Society (Bibles, New Testaments, and Gospels) expressed in terms of what that production would have been if only complete Bibles had been produced. For a fuller explanation of how and why this statistic was computed, see the appendix.

Source: American Bible Society, Annual Reports (New York, 1821-1831).

Table 1 shows the striking increase in production at the American Bible Society in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The data also suggest that the introduction of modern technology quickly helped to lower costs significantly as early as 1829, when the society installed steam-powered presses and began to use machine-made paper. The average cost for paper per Bible Equivalent in the eight years 1821 to 1828 was 41.8 cents. In the three years 1829 to 1831 the average cost was 19.0 cents, a decline of 55 percent. Meanwhile, the cost of printing fell from an average of 16.8 cents per Bible Equivalent in 1821-1828 to 11.3 cents in 1829-1831, a decline of 33 percent. (For a definition of the term "Bible Equivalent" and a description of how the cost figures reported in Table 1 were computed, see the appendix.)

The grand vision of a "general supply" also possessed the leaders of the American Tract Society, and the first well-planned movement in that direction began in New York City, also in 1829. The New-York City Tract Society developed what came to be known as "The Systematic Monthly Distribution" plan. The goal was simple: to place in the hands of every city resident at least one tract, the same tract, each month. The idea was the ideology of modern mass media: to have everyone reading and talking about the same thing at the same time. The plan involved a complicated network of ward committees and district distributors. Under the plan, the city's 14 wards were divided into 500 districts, with about 60 families per district. Each ward had a committee and a chairman, and each district at least one door-to-door distributor. In March of 1829, when the project began, the society counted 28,771 family units in the city and visited all of them. According to the society's report for the month, 28,383 families were willing to take a tract; only 388 declined.[77]

The whole process was meticulously organized, mainly by such evangelical businessmen as Arthur Tappan (in charge of Ward 5) and his brother Lewis (in charge of Ward 1). Each district distributor was provided with a printed card of instructions, forms for reporting back to the central committee, and, of course, the proper supply of the tract-of-the-month. The instructions were very explicit, describing precisely when and how the district canvass and distribution should be done.[78] By 1831 the New York society was delivering more than five million pages of tracts per year to the city's 36,000 families. In addition, some of the more aggressive distributors had begun systematic distribution at the city's wharfs, markets, hospitals, and public institutions. By 1833 more than 700 distributors were regularly engaged in this "efficient effort."[79]

Other cities picked up on the New York plan. Some 200 New England towns, including Boston, had launched monthly distribution programs by 1831. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and other large cities also had programs under way. Even some rural counties were wholly covered, including some sparsely populated areas of the West. The national office of

the Tract Society publicized the New York plan heavily and pressed it upon its auxiliaries and branches everywhere. While not disparaging what it called "miscellaneous distributions," the society's executive committee argued that only systematic, organized efforts would lead to the great goal of reaching all.[80]

Like the Bible Society's "general supply" of 1829-31, the Tract Society's "Systematic Monthly Distribution" over the same period was ostensibly a failure. The executive committee admitted in 1831 that some 10 million Americans were still beyond the net of the society's legions of distributors. Yet, like their colleagues at the Bible Society, the Tract Society directors were optimistic of eventual success. Remarkably, two million to three million people *were* being reached by the monthly efforts, at least fairly regularly. In the years 1829 to 1831 the society's production of tracts never fell below 5 million annually. Counting all its publications, the American Tract Society annually printed at least five pages for every man, woman, and child in America.[81]

Table 2 shows the growth of tract production at the American Tract Society in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Compared to the Bible Society, however, the cost trend for the Tract Society is more difficult to follow. The data in Table 2 seem to show a significant difference in costs between the New England Tract Society before 1824 and the New York-based American Tract Society after 1825. Because the national Tract Society after 1825 moved increasingly into fancier tracts, book publication, and other more expensive printing, it is difficult to trace cost changes over time. In general the data seem to suggest that costs remained fairly steady, though the quality and diversity of the product was upgraded considerably. (For a discussion of some of the complexities of cost accounting, see the appendix.)

In short, both societies pushed themselves and their machines to the limit in the years 1829 to 1831, the years of the first "general supply" and the first "systematic distributions." These peaks of production were not reached again until 1836, on the eve of the Panic of 1837. For both societies the period 1829-1831 was the time of realization that the creation of mass media was possible in America.

The Wonder of Mass Media

Spreading the word by cheap books and tracts was missionary work well suited to the American scene, in the view of the evangelical publicists of the 1820s. They described their work as part of a new American age of innovation, discovery, and progress. They spoke of religious tracts in the same terms that would later be applied to popular American journalism and fiction: "short," "interesting," "pungent," "striking," "entertaining," yet "unassuming" — just the thing for a

TABLE 2

Printing Production and Unit Production Costs, New England Tract Society and American Tract Society, 1821-1831

Society	Year (ending in May)	No. regular tracts printed [a]	No. pages printed, all pubs. [b]	Production cost per 10 pages [c]
New England Tract Society	1821	468,000	4,680,000	1.0¢
	1822	255,500	2,555,000	1.0¢
	1823	470,000	4,700,000	0.8¢
	1824	770,000	7,700,000	1.0¢
American Tract Society	1827	3,117,100	44,545,100	0.59¢
	1828	5,019,000	74,657,200	0.53¢
	1829	6,268,000	88,432,000	0.53¢
	1830	5,239,000	77,577,100	0.64¢
	1831	5,383,000	68,786,000	0.49¢

a "Regular tract" means the standard duodecimo English-language tract, which was the staple of the Tract Society. Foreign language tracts and children's tracts, printed in much smaller numbers, are not included here.

b The total page figures for the New England Tract Society years are estimates based on the simple fact that the average tract was around 10 pages. The page figures for the American Tract Society years are less rough, but they also have some estimates embedded within them. See the appendix.

c During the New England Tract Society years, production costs were reported in aggregated form: "Expense for paper, printing, etc." During the American Tract Society years, costs were reported in more detail. These figures were made as comparable as possible, including for the years 1827 to 1831 expenditures for paper, printing, and binding.

Source: American Tract Society (New England), Proceedings of the First Ten Years of the American Tract Society (Boston, 1824); American Tract Society (New York), Annual Reports (New York: 1827-1831).9fl700

young, busy, mobile population of sinners. Like the hawkers of factual "news" in the penny press of the 1830s and 1840s, the tract promoters declared their inspirational conversion stories to be "authentic narratives." "Ours is a nation of *freemen*," the Tract Society proclaimed, "accustomed to think and act for themselves; an enlightened, investigating, *reading* people." All they needed were the facts. In addition, every man could be a missionary in America — he needed only an armful of tracts. And, finally, tract work was cheap. "Perhaps in no way can the message of the Gospel be conveyed *to more individuals at less expense*."[32]

"To more individuals at less expense" — this, of course, was a dictum that made sense for messages other than the message of the Gospel; and reformers and publicists of a more secular bent soon borrowed the methods of the Bible and Tract societies. The 1830s, in fact, saw a great evangelical outpouring of reform enthusiasm and a great growth of volun-

tary association and associational publication. Popular commercial publishing — especially popular journalism — also burst into prominence and public favor in the 1830s. In nearly every area of publication, the printing industry in the major cities, especially New York, prospered; and innovations in power printing, stereotyping, and papermaking — pioneered by the Bible and Tract societies — combined to reduce the costs of all kinds of publications.[83]

Many secular associations would eventually adopt the printing, distribution, and organizational methods of the Bible and Tract societies. One of the first to do so was the American Anti-Slavery Society. The experience of the Anti-Slavery Society with mass media in the 1830s suggests that the pioneering work of the Bible and Tract societies would have far-reaching implications.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was a rather small collection of immediate abolitionists who had very little standing in the realms of political power or public opinion in 1833, the year the society was founded. But the Anti-Slavery Society did have leaders who had studied, in the Bible and Tract societies, the uses of the cheap printed word. These leaders included, perhaps most notably, Arthur and Lewis Tappan of New York City.[84]

With the organizational and financial support of the Tappan brothers, the Anti-Slavery Society launched in the 1830s its own systematic distribution of abolitionist materials, its own version of a "general supply." In 1835 the society flooded the mails with more than a million pieces of antislavery literature, sent free to people all over the country, including the South. The materials ranged from four new monthly journals and a children's newspaper to tracts, woodcuts, handkerchiefs, and even chocolate wrappers. This "great postal campaign" has been called the first flowering of the printing revolution in America.[85] It was not. It was in many ways simply another campaign in the tract war that the Tappans and others had been waging for more than 10 years.

The reaction to these abolitionist tracts and pamphlets, however, was decidedly different from the reaction to "The Swearer's Prayer," "The Dairyman's Daughter," or the pocket New Testament. The reaction was close to hysterical. Southern newspapers thundered; mobs gathered; legislatures assembled to ban the importation of "incendiary literature." One Southerner, writing to an evangelical friend, captured the grim foreboding that seized the South: "When I think of the myriads . . . of papers . . . from the prolific press in New York . . . diffusing at once delusion and bitterness in the North, and exasperation through the South; of *our own impudence* in offering rewards for Tappan . . ., of our *lynchings* and excessive irritability throughout this whole season of agitation, how is it possible to avoid fearing the worse?"[86] For many Americans, in the North as well as the South, the postal campaign was clear evidence that

abolitionism was an enormously rich and powerful conspiracy, centered in New York, which was determined to destroy traditional local values and institutions. For them, this nationalization of organization and communication was a threat to the decentralized structure of American republicanism.[87]

In reality the American Anti-Slavery Society was neither rich nor powerful. It only seemed so because printing, paper, and postage had become increasingly cheap. Indeed, this campaign did signal a new order of things, and it did emanate from New York. But it was not a mammoth conspiracy. It was simply the way evangelism — whether religious or otherwise — would now be done in modern America.

On July 29, 1835, a band of men broke into the U.S. Post Office in Charleston, South Carolina, and carried off a number of mailbags that had arrived from New York City, stuffed with abolitionist tracts, magazines, and newspapers. The next night, amid hanging effigies of Arthur Tappan and other antislavery leaders, some 3,000 Charlestonians watched and cheered as the abolitionist literature was put to the torch.[88] Ironically, what shocked and horrified these Charleston men and women was the same thing that had pleased the Rev. William Dickey and his parishioners in western Kentucky just 20 years before. It was the wonder of mass media.

Between 1815 and 1835, centralized, systematic mass publication had become part of the American way of doing things. The origin, this paper argues, was religious and evangelical. This evangelical spirit, however, was expansive and not easily contained. Perhaps on that July night in Charleston in 1835 the full implications of what it means to live in a mass media society first began to rise in the minds of Americans. But by 1835 a few bonfires were already very much too late.

APPENDIX

The Cost of Bible and Tract Production, 1821-1831

The annual reports of the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society include data on the output of the societies' printing shops and on expenditures for categories of items, including paper, printing, and binding. Estimates of the costs of production can be computed from these data. Unfortunately these estimates must be quite rough for both societies, especially the Tract Society, because of problems inherent in the data. The problems are described in this appendix; the estimates are reported in Tables 1 and 2 in the text.

The chief problems are these:

(1) *Unit of Production.* The first problem in figuring average costs of

production over time was to determine a standardized unit of production. Each society produced different products in different quantities at different times, yet only broad categories of expenditures were reported. For example, the Bible Society produced New Testaments and Gospels as well as complete Bibles; the Tract Society published books, almanacs, and magazines as well as tracts. But expenditures for printing, paper, etc., were not broken down by class of product. In order to compare different outputs and costs over time, the Bible Society's production was standardized in terms of "Bible Equivalents" and the Tract Society's production in terms of "pages." For the Bible Society, the total number of Bible Equivalents (BE) in a year equals the number of Bibles plus the number of New Testaments (NT) and Gospels (G) expressed as proportions of whole Bibles. That is, $BE = B + (NT \times 0.3) + (G \times 0.03)$. The weights 0.3 and 0.03 are based upon the normal size of standard King James New Testaments and Gospels compared to complete Bibles. The page was used as the unit of analysis for the Tract Society, because sometimes (not always, alas) the total number of pages printed was given in the annual reports. Sometimes, however, only the total number of pages of *tracts* was given; the number of *copies* of magazines and almanacs was given, but not the number of pages. In these cases the number of pages was estimated in order to arrive at a total production figure for each year expressed in terms of total pages.

(2) *Changes in Quality.* Despite these efforts at standardization, one important factor could not be standardized: *quality.* This was probably the chief imponderable. Both societies claimed to have upgraded the quality of paper used over time, but this could not be measured. No volume figures on paper consumption were reported, and no unit cost figures — just total annual expenditures by category. The Tract Society certainly increased the quality of its products significantly over the 1820s, with woodcuts, engravings, and stiff paper covers as well as better paper. The Bible Society also claimed that its books in the late 1820s were superior in materials and workmanship compared to the early years. Both societies printed different products in different *size* formats as well, which could not be taken into account.

(3) *Meanings of Categories.* For neither society is the exact meaning of an expenditure category altogether clear. The Tract Society seems to have included the cost of stereotype plates under their "printing" category; the Bible Society did not. More importantly, it is not clear in what way and at what rate the capital cost of new printing presses was being amortized by the annual printing charges to the societies. These and other uncertainties make it difficult to say exactly what the per-unit cost of printing was, year by year. For example, the Tract Society was making heavy investments in stereotype plates in the late 1820s, which kept "printing" expenditures misleadingly high.

(4) *Aggregation.* The financial reports of the Bible Society before 1821 do not contain breakdowns of expenditures by the same categories (paper, printing, binding, etc.) as the reports for 1821 and after. The same is true of the Tract Society before 1827. In general the Tract Society tended to aggregate more expenditures into fewer categories than did the Bible Society. Between 1832 and 1834, the Bible Society did not disaggregate Bibles and New Testaments. These and other little changes in record-keeping created difficulties in investigating trends over time. Problems of aggregation largely explain the choices of dates and categories in the tables.

(5) *Carry-over of Bills and Supplies.* Charges for printing, paper, and other services were sometimes carried over from one year to the next. Paper was sometimes stockpiled in one year and used in another. But there is no indication of when this was done. Thus, production figures and expenditures listed for a given year are not necessarily congruent. For this reason, it is dangerous to put much stock in year-to-year fluctuations.

NOTES

1. Letter from Dickey to Mills, printed in Samuel J. Mills and Daniel Smith, *Report of a Missionary Tour through that Part of the United States which Lies West of the Allegany Mountains* (Andover, Mass.: Flagg and Gould, 1815), p. 53. This volume has been reprinted in *To Win the West: Missionary Viewpoints, 1814-1815* (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

2. A standard account of this literary transformation is Henry Walcott Boynton, *Annals of American Bookselling, 1638-1850* (New York: Wiley, 1932), pp. 138-40. See also Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Lawrence C. Wroth, and Rollo G. Silver, *The Book in America* (2nd ed.; New York: R.R. Bowker, 1952), part III; and Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957). An excellent recent overview is David D. Hall, "The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600-1850," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. by William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983).

3. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America* (4th ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), chapter 10; and Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), chapter 1.

4. On the movement of the old Standing Order into private institutions, see Peter D. Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York University Press, 1982), chapter 5.

5. Elias Boudinot, *The Age of Revelation* (Philadelphia: Asbury Dickins, 1801), p. xx. See also George Adams Boyd, *Elias Boudinot: Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), chapter 25; and Jane J. Boudinot, *The Life, Public Services, Addresses and Letters of Elias Boudinot*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1896).

6. Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), chapter 3. See also Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-60.

7. *Proceedings of the First Ten Years of the American Tract Society, Instituted at Boston, 1814* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1824), p. 9. This volume has been reprinted in *The American Tract Society Documents, 1824-1925* (New York: Arno Press, 1972). See also James K. Morse, *Jedidiah Morse: A Champion of New England Orthodoxy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939); and Harvey G. Neufeldt, "The American Tract Society, 1825-1865: An Examination of Its Religious, Economic, Social, and Political Ideas" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971).

8. The most detailed overviews of the missionary impulse of this era remain Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960); and Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960). See also Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), chapter 1.

9. *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

10. Mills and Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-9, 47.

11. William Jones, *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1850), pp. 612-13; William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1904), pp. 241-48. See also Frank Thistlewaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959).

12. "Laws and Regulations of the British and Foreign Bible Society," reprinted in Canton, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19. See also John Owen, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols. (London: L.B. Seeley, 1816).

13. "Address to Christians on the Distribution of Religious Tracts," in *Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1820); American Tract Society, *Seventh Annual Report* (New York, 1832), pp. 12-13. The American Tract Society (New York) will hereafter be referred to as ATS. On the success of "The Swearer's Prayer" see ATS, *Second Annual Report* (1827), p. 25; and ATS, *Third Annual Report* (1828), p. 11.

14. Jones, *op. cit.*, chapter 3; "An Address to Christians Recommending the Distribution of Religious Tracts," in *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

15. *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 9. See also Elizabeth Twaddell, "The American Tract Society, 1814-1860," *Church History*, 15:116-32 (June 1946).

16. This section is based upon the New England Tract Society's annual reports, 1815-1824, which were reprinted by the society in 1824 in *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, *op. cit.* The New England society changed its name to American Tract Society in 1823, two years before the founding of the New York-based American Tract Society in 1825.

17. *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

18. These figures are from the annual reports of the New England society and a summary table in *ibid.*, p. 178 and *passim*. Compare with general U.S. statistics on the value of printing work in Tench Coxe, ed., *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America for the Year 1810* (Philadelphia: A. Cornman, Jr., 1814).

19. Mills and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17. See also Margaret T. Hills, *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible and the New Testament Published in America 1777-1957* (New York: American Bible Society and New York Public Library, 1961), part I.

20. Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of the New York Port* (New York: Scribners, 1939), pp. 10, 13-14; Charles King, *Progress of the City of New-York during the Last Fifty Years* (New York: D. Appleton, 1852), pp. 74-75. See also Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), chapter 1.

21. Helen C. Knight, *Memorial of the Rev. William A. Hallock, D.D., First Secretary of the American Tract Society* (New York: American Tract Society, 1882), pp. 33-35.

22. For a general history of stereotyping, see George A. Kubler, *A New History of Stereotyping* (New York: Little & Ives, 1941); and George A. Kubler, *Historical Treatises, Abstracts, and Papers on Stereotyping* (New York: Brooklyn Eagle Press, 1936). Two very early pamphlets on the process recently have been reprinted. See Charles Brightly, *The Method of Founding Stereotype* and Thomas Hodgson, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Stereotype Printing* (New York: Garland, 1982). Brightly's pamphlet was originally published in 1809; Hodgson's in 1822. This reprint volume has a useful introduction by Michael L. Turner.

23. George A. Kubler, *The Era of Charles Mahon, Third Earl of Stanhope, Stereotyper, 1750-1825* (New York: Brooklyn Eagle Press, 1938); and John Bidwell, "Joshua Gilpin and Lord Stanhope's Improvements in Printing," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of*

America, 76:143-58 (Second Quarter, 1982).

24. M.H. Black, "The Printed Bible," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 3, ed. by S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 466-67.

25. Harry B. Weiss, "Type Founders, Copperplate Printers, Stereotypers in Early New York City," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 55:480-82 (October 1951); Kubler, *New History of Stereotyping*, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-53. See also Harry B. Weiss, "The Number of Persons and Firms Connected with the Graphic Arts in New York City, 1633-1820." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 50:775-86 (October 1946).

26. Hills, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 46; E.B. O'Callaghan, *A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts thereof Printed in America previous to 1860* (Albany: Munsell and Rowland, 1861), pp. 110, 135. This pioneer work of bibliography was reprinted by Gale Research of Detroit in 1966.

27. "Resolutions of the New York Bible Society," quoted in Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. See also David J. Fant, *The Bible in New York: The Romance of Scripture Distribution in a World Metropolis from 1809 to 1948* (New York: American Bible Society, 1948).

28. American Bible Society, *First Annual Report* (New York, 1817), p. 10. See also American Bible Society, Minutes of the Board of Managers, July 3, 1816, in American Bible Society archives, New York. American Bible Society hereafter will be referred to as ABS.

29. ABS, Minutes of the Board of Managers, August 7, 1816, and August 17, 1816. See also Eric M. North, "The Production and Supply of Scriptures, Part I, 1816-1820," ABS Historical Essay No. 18 (typescript), pp. 1-2. Copy in the library of the ABS, New York.

30. ABS, *First Annual Report* (1817), p. 11; ABS, *Third Annual Report* (1819), pp. 10-11. See also North, "The Production and Supply of Scriptures"; and Margaret T. Hills, "The Production and Supply of Scriptures, Part II, 1821-1830," ABS Historical Essay No. 18 (typescript). Copy in the library of the ABS.

31. *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

32. Summary table, *ibid.*, p. 178.

33. *Address of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to the Christian Public* (New York: D. Fanshaw, 1825), p. 12. This pamphlet is reprinted in *American Tract Society Documents*, *op. cit.* On costs of production, see Tables 1 and 2.

34. ATS, *First Annual Report* (1826), pp. 11-12, 15.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 22. See also *Address of the Executive Committee*, *op. cit.*

36. Discussions of printing costs and techniques are common in the minutes of the ABS Standing Committee in the late 1810s and 1820s. The Standing Committee was a committee of five members of the Board of Managers appointed in the society's first year to conduct daily business between monthly board meetings. See also Hills, "Production and Supply of Scriptures," *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10.

37. James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 113-16; Robert Hoe, *A Short History of the Printing Press* (New York: Robert Hoe, 1902), pp. 10-11. On the Koenig cylinder press, see Moran, *Printing Presses*, chapter 7. Jonas Booth is sometimes credited with introducing the power press in America, also about 1822. But he produced very few machines. See Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

38. Daniel Treadwell letter to ABS, September 20, 1823, in ABS archives; ABS, Minutes of the Standing Committee, January 27, 1827, in ABS archives; *Address of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society to the Friends of the Bible of Every Religious Denomination . . .* (New York: J. Seymour, 1829), p. 13; *An Abstract of the American Bible Society, Containing an Account of Its Principles and Operations* (New York: Daniel Fanshaw, 1830), p. 12. See also Hills, "Production and Supply of Scriptures," *op. cit.*, pp. 11-15.

39. *American Tract Magazine*, 1:275 (April 1826); "Daniel Fanshaw," in *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, reprint edition of 1894 original (New York: Lenox Hill, 1970), p. 184.

40. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 114; *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, *op. cit.*, p. 184; North, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44. See also Lawrence Thompson, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of the American Tract Society from 1825 to 1850," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 35:81-114 (Second Quarter, 1941).

41. Robert quoted in Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft*, (2nd ed.; New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 344, 346. See also Robert H. Clapperton,

The Papermaking Machine: Its Invention, Evolution, and Development (New York and Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968).

42. On prices, see Donald C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry, 1495-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), pp. 202-04; and Lyman H. Weeks, *A History of Paper-Manufacturing in the United States, 1690-1916* (New York: Lockwood Trade Journal Co., 1916), pp. 195, 223-24.

43. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-56; and David C. Smith, *History of Papermaking in the United States, 1691-1969* (New York: Lockwood Publishing, 1970), p. 32.

44. "Memorial to Congress" draft, ABS, Minutes of the Board of Managers, January 1, 1817, and May 7, 1818; ABS, *Second Annual Report* (1818), p. 21. See also North, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-32.

45. Hills, "Production and Supply of Scriptures," *op. cit.*, p. 47.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48; ABS, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1830), p. 23; and ABS, *Fifteenth Annual Report* (1831), p. 24.

47. Letters from Hubbard to the ABS, August 8, 1830, August 11, 1830, September 4, 1830, and September 11, 1830, in ABS archives.

48. ATS, *Second Annual Report* (1827), p. 23.

49. Milnor, quoted in Hills, "Production and Supply of Scriptures," *op. cit.*, p. 18. See also *Address of the Board of Managers, op. cit.*

50. *Constitution of the American Bible Society* (New York: G.F. Hopkins, 1816). The ABS Constitution is reprinted in most of the society's annual reports. See also Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-25.

51. *Address of the Executive Committee, op. cit.*, p. 9. See also "Constitution of the American Tract Society," in each annual report.

52. ATS, *First Annual Report* (1826), pp. 9-10, 36; ATS, *Eighth Annual Report* (1833), p. 5.

53. ATS, *Second Annual Report* (1827), p. 23; Milnor, quoted in Hills, "Production and Supply of Scriptures," *op. cit.*, p. 18.

54. ABS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1820), p. 16; APS, *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1829), p. 7; and ATS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1829), p. 57.

55. *Address of the Executive Committee, op. cit.*, p. 13. On the transportation/communication revolution, see George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution* (New York: Rinehart, 1951); and Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

56. ABS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1820), p. 8.

57. ABS, *First Annual Report* (1817), pp. 10, 21; ABS, *Second Annual Report* (1818), pp. 10-11; ABS, Minutes of the Board of Managers, February 1, 1821, and February 6, 1822. See also Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

58. *American Tract Magazine* and *Monthly Extracts, passim.* See also ATS, *First Annual Report* (1826), pp. 12-13; ABS, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1827), pp. 10-11, 96; ABS, *Sixth Annual Report* (1822), p. 82.

59. ATS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1829), p. 17; ATS, *Seventh Annual Report* (1832), pp. 18-19; ABS, *Fifth Annual Report* (1821), pp. 28-29; *Abstract of the American Bible Society, op. cit.*, pp. 26-27. See also Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-47.

60. "Constitution of the American Tract Society," *op. cit.*; and *Constitution of the American Bible Society, op. cit.* See also Neufeldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

61. ABS, *Seventh Annual Report* (1823), pp. 20-21, 73-74; ABS, *Twelfth Annual Report* (1828), pp. 30-31. See also *Abstract of the American Bible Society, op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, 38. On the similarity to booksellers' agents, see Boynton, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-36.

62. ATS, *Fifth Annual Report* (1830), pp. 35-37; *The American Colporteur System* (New York: American Tract Society, 1836); and *Instructions of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society to Colporteurs and Agents* (New York: American Tract Society, 1868). These two pamphlets are reprinted in *American Tract Society Documents, op. cit.*

63. Hall, *op. cit.*, chapter 5; Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973).

64. ABS, *Seventh Annual Report* (1823), p. 8; ATS, *First Annual Report* (1826), p. 18; ATS, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* (1850), pp. 22-23. See also John M. Gibson, *Soldiers of*

the Word: The Story of the American Bible Society (Philadelphia: Philosophical Library, 1958), pp. 57-58. For a general account of philanthropy in New York see Kenneth D. Miller, *The People are the City: 150 Years of Social and Religious Concern in New York* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

65. Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871), pp. 74-75; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), chapter 3. *The Life of Arthur Tappan* has been reprinted by Greenwood Press of Westport, Conn., 1970.

66. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

67. ABS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1820) through *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1830), *passim*. See also Table 1 and the tables in Dwight, *Centennial History*, pp. 576-77.

68. ATS, *First Annual Report* (1826) through *Fifth Annual Report* (1830), *passim*. See also Table 2 and the summary table in ATS, *Tenth Annual Report* (1835), p. 2.

69. David Kaser, *Messrs. Carey & Lea of Philadelphia: A Study in the History of the Booktrade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), pp. 48, 50, 81. See also David Kaser, ed., *The Cost Book of Carey & Lea, 1825-1838* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), *passim*. The Carey of "Carey & Lea" was Henry, son of the great turn-of-the-century publisher/bookseller Mathew Carey.

70. ABS, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1827), p. 8.

71. ABS, *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1829), p. vi. See also *Address of the Board of Managers, op. cit.*; and *Abstract of the American Bible Society, op. cit.*

72. *Address of the Board of Managers, op. cit.*, p. 2. See also Dwight, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-91; and Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-67.

73. ABS, *Twelfth Annual Report* (1828), p. 28; ABS, *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1829), pp. 41-42; Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 88; and Tappan, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

74. *Abstract of the American Bible Society, op. cit.*, pp. 26-27; Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

75. ABS, *Fifteenth Annual Report* (1831), pp. 3-4, 17-18, 47-48.

76. See table in Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 577; and see Table 1.

77. ATS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1829), pp. 28-29. See also Charles I. Foster, "The Urban Missionary Movement, 1814-1837," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 75:58-59 (January 1951).

78. ATS, *Fourth Annual Report* (1829), pp. 74-76; ATS, *Eighth Annual Report* (1833), pp. 31-32; ATS, *Ninth Annual Report* (1834), pp. 126-28. See also Wyatt-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

79. ATS, *Sixth Annual Report* (1831), p. 16; ATS, *Eighth Annual Report* (1833), p. 23.

80. ATS, *Sixth Annual Report* (1831), pp. 24-27.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 28; ATS, *Eighth Annual Report* (1833), pp. 24-28. See also Table 2.

82. ATS, *Third Annual Report* (1828), pp. 21-22; "An Address to Christians Recommending the Distribution of Religious Tracts," in *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society, op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

83. U.S., Department of Interior, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Manufactures of the United States in 1860*, III:cxxvi-cxxix, cxxxvii-cxl. See also Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; and James L. Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York, 1830-1860," *New York History*, 45:104-08 (April 1964).

84. The work of the Tappans in the American Anti-Slavery Society is described in Wyatt-Brown, *op. cit.* See also Lawrence J. Friedman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), chapter 3.

85. Leonard L. Richards, *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 72-73. On the postal campaign in general, see Wyatt-Brown, *op. cit.*, chapter 8.

86. Quoted in Wyatt-Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-71.

87. Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-62.

88. Wyatt-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

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